

BOOK II. of service had expired, became electors, and might be  
Ch. 1. chosen burgesses.

A. D. Each officer was directly or indirectly chosen by the  
1642 people, and each parish was left to take care of itself.  
to Tranquillity and a rapid increase of population were the  
1670. fruit of this representative democracy; and, at the time  
Charles II. was restored, Virginia contained thirty thousand people.

Germens of aristocracy. Still, there were the germs of aristocracy among the settlers, which ultimately became developed. For any person whom a planter should transport at his own charge into Virginia, he could claim fifty acres of land; and as large numbers of indentured servants were brought over, great proprietors existed from the beginning. As these possessions were generally transmitted to the eldest son, family pride was engendered as in ancient feudal times.

Rise of new classes and parties. Moreover, a plebeian population arose from the descendants of those servants who had been doomed to a temporary servitude. Some of them even were convicts, transported for political offences merely. These became a labouring and inferior class, which increased disproportionately with the other population.

In addition, the labouring class was vastly multiplied by the increase of negro slaves, who possessed no civil privileges, and naturally assumed the lowest position in the societary scale. As these increased, the distinctions in society widened.

A rising aristocracy. And the power of the rising aristocracy was still further increased by the absence of all popular education. There were no schools, and the rising population received but little intellectual culture. "Every man," said Berkeley, "instructs his children according to his ability; and I thank God there are no free schools nor printing-presses."

The great proprietors, in possession of increasing tracts BOOK II.  
of land, superior in intelligence, and accustomed to con- Ch. 1.  
trol, from the servility, ignorance, and poverty of a large A. D.  
part of the labouring class, naturally aspired to the go- 1642  
vernment of the country, and the perpetuation of their to  
power and privileges by legislative enactments. They 1670.  
naturally became the magistrates of a country where po-  
pulation was scattered, and where there were no large  
towns, nor municipal governments. They also were  
selected to be members of the council, and of the legis-  
lature. They gradually grasped the military, judicial,  
legislative, and executive powers. On the restoration of  
Charles II., in 1666, these great landed proprietors, in  
possession of political power, formed a natural alliance  
with the royal governors and officers, and were prepared  
for additional usurpations. The tidings of the Restora-  
tion had diffused universal joy and enthusiasm throughout  
the colony, which had ever inclined to the royal cause.  
The general excitement in favour of royalty led to the  
election of an assembly composed almost entirely of  
Cavaliers and landholders.

Possessing an ascendancy in the legislature, the rising aristocracy, true to its instincts, modified the constitution, and effected changes in favour of landed proprietors and men of wealth. The Episcopal Church was made the religion of the State, and in every parish twelve vestrymen were appointed, with power to assess taxes and fill vacancies in their own number. Nonconformists were excluded from many civil privileges, and some sects were cruelly persecuted. Religious freedom was suppressed. A member of the House of Burgesses was even excluded because he was well-affected towards the Quakers.

And this aristocratic legislature established a perpetual revenue to the royal officers by a permanent tax on all

Power of great landed proprietors.

Episcopacy established by law.

Book II. exported tobacco—the main staple of the colony—which  
 Ch. I. thus enabled the governor to rule independently of the  
 A. D. people. Moreover, the justices of the peace, appointed  
 1642 by the governor, held monthly courts in their respective  
 to counties, and had the power to levy county taxes; which  
 1670. was so far abused, that the commissioners levied taxes to  
 meet their own private expenses.

The aristocracy  
 grasp all  
 power.

Nor was this all. The law which limited the duration  
 of assemblies to two years was repealed, and the legisla-  
 tors assumed to themselves an indefinite term of office.  
 For fourteen years this legislature retained authority, and  
 yielded it up at last only to a popular insurrection. And  
 the Burgesses were not content with power alone. They  
 voted for themselves extravagant wages, to be paid by a  
 tax on the people.

Even the freedom of elections was assailed. The she-  
 riffs, appointed by the governor, and belonging to the  
 aristocratic class, made out false returns. In addition,  
 the system of universal suffrage was abolished, and none  
 were eligible as electors but freeholders and housekeepers.  
 Thus the new legislature voted away the liberties of  
 the people, and passed laws to perpetuate a landed  
 aristocracy.

Rise of a  
 hardy  
 and jea-  
 lous de-  
 mocrac-  
 y.

But with the growth and ascendancy of aristocratic  
 power, there also arose a generation of people who viewed  
 this power with great uneasiness. There were scattered  
 through the colony young men who, reared in isolation,  
 accustomed to the freedom of the wilderness, and trained  
 to self-dependence and hardy exercises, were resolved to  
 recover the privileges which all had originally enjoyed.  
 They met together in secret to complain of their hard-  
 ships, and devise the means of resistance. A struggle  
 was at hand between wealth and prerogative on the one  
 side, and popular freedom on the other. There was only

needed an occasion to precipitate matters into actual  
 rebellion. Book II.  
Ch. I.

An occasion was at last presented by the pretended ne-  
 cessity of an Indian war. A young planter was found, A. D.  
1642  
to  
1670.  
 of fine talents and enterprising character, who had been  
 bred to the bar in England, to sympathize with the de-  
 mocracy. His name was Nathaniel Bacon, and he did all  
 in his power to foment the popular discontents, perhaps  
 with a view, as is the case with most demagogues, of rising  
 into power by exciting the prejudices and passions of the  
 people. Or, he may have been a true patriot, burning  
 with indignation against the oppression and injustice which  
 the governing class had exercised. Schemes  
of Ba-  
con.

The wise and sagacious old governor perfectly under-  
 stood the character and designs of Bacon—that he wished  
 to fan the flame of Indian war, and then, when he had  
 collected sufficient force to subdue the savages, and had  
 returned with his followers to their homes with the glory  
 of victory, to make use of their power and the popular  
 enthusiasm to overturn the government. For it should  
 be stated that Bacon had solicited permission to raise a  
 force and attack the Indians, and had been refused; and  
 very properly, too, if order and law were to be maintained  
 by an aristocratic government, and if the Indians were not  
 needlessly to be destroyed.

There were doubtless Indian aggressions; but all diffi-  
 culties with them might have been easily settled, and a Indian  
agres-  
sions.  
 war might have been prevented. It seems that the Seneca  
 Indians had driven the Susquehannas from their abode at  
 the head of the Chesapeake to the English settlements in  
 Maryland, and some outrages had been committed. The  
 people in Maryland invoked the aid of Virginia, and a  
 body of men had gone to their assistance. Mutual acts  
 of hostility were perpetrated, which ended by the Indians

Book II. sending six of their chieftains with authority to treat for  
Ch. I. peace.

A. D. Reconciliation was in the power of the Virginians, and  
1676. was desired by the governor himself. But it was not  
Indian peace they wanted. They desired an excuse to raise a  
war. large body of men, and further they were animated by a  
cruel desire to annihilate their enemies. The govern-  
ment, however, took what measures it thought necessary  
to guard against Indian hostilities, among which was the  
erection of forts.

The democracy denounced these forts as a folly—as a  
mean and cowardly system of warfare, and demanded more  
vigorous measures; having all the while an ulterior point  
in view, which being understood by Berkeley, he refused  
permission to Bacon to raise the forces he desired.

Bacon But Bacon, sustained by the people, resolved to act  
marches without the consent of the constituted authorities, and  
against easily raised five hundred men to march against the In-  
the In- dians, on the plea of the necessity of the case. This was  
dians. in 1676, fourteen years after the liberties of the people  
had been abridged by the aristocratic legislature.

Bacon Scarcely had Bacon marched forth with his men against  
pro- the Indians, than they were proclaimed traitors, and a  
claimed force was raised to disperse them. Bacon, however, con-  
a traitor. ducted a successful expedition, routed and destroyed the  
Indians, and returned in triumph to his home. In the  
mean time, the lower counties had risen in arms, and de-  
manded the dissolution of the Assembly. With the mass  
of the people against him, and a triumphant leader at  
their head, the old governor was obliged to yield, and the  
hated assembly was dissolved.

He as- "In the choice of new members, the late disfranchise-  
sumes ment of freemen was little regarded, and Bacon, with  
power. others infected with his sentiments, were returned. The

Church aristocracy was broken up, and the elective fran- Book II.  
chise restored. Arbitrary assessments were prohibited, Ch. I.  
and the fees of the governor curtailed. Above all, Bacon A. D.  
was made commander-in-chief of the forces, much to the 1676.  
satisfaction of the people.

But Berkeley refused to sign his commission, and Bacon Civil  
then extorted it by force of arms. The people rallied to war.  
his standard, and so vigorous were his measures, that  
tranquillity was soon restored.

The people looked upon Bacon as their deliverer. Not Conflict  
so did Berkeley. He viewed the enterprising defender of between  
the colony as a rebel, and caused him to be proclaimed as Berke-  
such. Bacon, in return, caused Berkeley to be denounced ley and  
as a tyrant, and summoned the people of Virginia to arms Bacon.  
to resist tyranny and oppression. His call was responded  
to; the public mind seemed to yield to his direction, and  
a large force was assembled, both to resist Berkeley, and  
to prosecute the war against the Indians.

Berkeley was in danger of being deserted and sup-  
planted. His situation was critical. He therefore pro-  
mised liberty to the servants of the insurgents, if they  
would join his ranks. He also claimed the assistance of  
the vessels in the harbour.

Both parties prepared for the civil war which now dis-  
tracted the colony. The friends of popular liberty rallied  
around Bacon—the advocates of constitutional authority  
supported the governor.

Jamestown, the largest settlement of the colony, was James-  
deserted by the royalists, and was taken possession of by town de-  
the rebels. Fearful, however, that they were not strong stroyed.  
enough to retain it, they resolved to burn it; and the  
village was accordingly destroyed, that no shelter might  
remain to the enemy.

Bacon then resolved to prosecute the war still further,

Book II. and revolutionize the colony; but, while he was preparing  
Ch. I. measures for more active hostilities, he sickened and died.

A. D. His death left his party without a head, and it was easily  
1677. suppressed by the old authorities. Berkeley regained his  
The re- power, and exercised it with great severity. Twenty-two  
bellion persons were hanged as rebels; and many more would  
sup- have expiated their resistance on the scaffold, had they  
pressed. not fled into inaccessible retreats. "The old fool," said  
Charles II., "has taken more lives in that naked country,  
than I did for the murder of my father."

Thus was suppressed, in 1677, a rebellion which had  
for its object the attainment of popular liberty. After  
the royal authority was restored, and offenders punished,  
Berkeley returned to England, and was succeeded by Lord  
Culpepper, who was appointed governor for life.

Lord  
Culpep-  
per ap-  
pointed  
gover-  
nor.

Whenever a rebellion is unsuccessful, the old authority  
is re-established with increased force. It was so in Vir-  
ginia. Freedom now rested with the royal will. Assem-  
blies of the people were called but once in two years, and  
the members were elected only by freeholders. All the  
acts of the assembly which had sustained Bacon were  
annulled. Each church was subjected to a self-perpetu-  
ating vestry. Taxes were levied in an oppressive form,  
and the elective franchise was circumscribed.

1680. Affairs were still more lamentable under the adminis-  
tration of Lord Culpepper, to whom had been granted the  
Impro- proprietorship of a part of Virginia. He ruled only with  
erish- the view of increasing his emoluments. The country be-  
ment of came impoverished. The price of tobacco constantly de-  
Virgi- clined, and left the planters without hope. The governor  
nia. had no compassion for the people, and no sympathy with  
the province which he ruled. So miserable was the con-  
dition of the colonists, that they appealed, in 1683, to the  
king, to recall the grant to Culpepper and Arlington,

which request, in view of existing circumstances, was at  
length granted. Book II.  
Ch. I.

Soon after, Culpepper, notwithstanding his patent had  
constituted him governor for life, was superseded by Lord A. D.  
1683  
to  
1688.  
Effingham. The new governor followed in the steps of  
his predecessor, and resorted to the usual course of extor-  
tion and injustice. Still, the population increased, though  
not by voluntary emigrants. State prisoners and culprits  
were sent out to cultivate the land as indentured servants.  
There was no inducement for men who loved the institu-  
tions of freedom to emigrate to Virginia, where industry  
was depressed, and royal authority severe. The king ap-  
pointed all the officers of the colony—the executive, the  
council, the judges, the sheriffs, the county commissioners,  
and local magistrates. Virginia had no town meetings,  
no municipal institutions. Even the assembly was chosen  
by a restricted franchise.

These severe measures and arbitrary rule, however, Discon-  
tents of  
the co-  
lonists.  
caused disaffection, and favoured the spirit of resistance.  
And so threatening did affairs become, that the governor,  
from fear, was at last obliged to practise moderation.  
Finding the public displeasure general and uncontrollable,  
in view of his extortion and tyrannical severities, and that  
the colony was resolved to carry its complaints to James  
II., he embarked for England. But, before he arrived,  
the revolution in that country had placed new sovereigns  
on the throne.

Virginia, however, did not immediately gain much by 1692.  
that glorious and bloodless revolution. King William Sir Ed-  
mund  
Andros  
gover-  
nor.  
appointed Sir Edmund Andros, in 1692, to the office of  
governor—a man who had previously distinguished him-  
self by his arbitrary career as governor of New England.  
But his authority was circumscribed by the power of the  
assembly, which, after the English Revolution, obtained

Book II. additional power, not merely in Virginia, but in all the  
 Ch. I. colonies. By that great event, they were freed from their  
 A. D. dependence on the personal character of the king. He  
 1692. still continued to appoint governors, and men of sordid  
 feelings and narrow views occasionally were entrusted with  
 power. But the provincial assemblies generally found  
 means to avoid the effects of their avarice, in proportion  
 as the spirit of freedom gained ground among them.

Condi-  
 tion of  
 the colo-  
 ny on  
 the revo-  
 lution of  
 1688.

Notwithstanding the evils which the colony had suf-  
 fered from royal and aristocratic influences, it continually  
 increased in numbers and wealth. In 1688, the inhabit-  
 ants numbered about sixty thousand, of whom, however,  
 one-half were slaves; and as many as twenty-five thousand  
 hogsheads of tobacco were exported, on which the duty  
 collected in England amounted to over 135,000*l*. At this  
 period, the province contained forty-eight parishes and  
 twenty counties. In every parish was built a church, and  
 the clergyman received for his salary a house, a glebe, and  
 sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. The Bishop of Lon-  
 don was the diocesan of the province, and appointed a  
 resident commissary to preside over the clergy. The doc-  
 trines and rites of the Church of England were established  
 by law, and that church embraced in its ranks almost  
 every person of influence in the colony. After the Eng-  
 lish Revolution, other opinions and practices began to  
 arise, and spread so rapidly, that, at the war of independ-  
 ence, two-thirds of the people were dissenters from the  
 Episcopal Church. Slavery became more and more iden-  
 tified with all the interests and institutions of the colony,  
 and furnished one of the main subjects of colonial legis-  
 lation. Literature was but slightly cultivated; but the  
 want of general intelligence was offset by considerable  
 refinement of manners. Hospitality, from the first, was  
 practised and enjoined; and seldom have men been more

peculiarly attentive to this noble duty, than the inhabit-  
 ants of the Old Dominion. The life of the planter, Book II.  
 although it inclined him to habits of indolence and lei- Ch. I.  
 sure, yet fostered in him a chivalrous, frank, affable, and A. D.  
 generous spirit. His situation developed peculiar vir- 1688.  
 tues and peculiar defects—quite foreign to those which  
 characterized the Puritan settlers of New England,  
 whose early planting and history it is now necessary to  
 consider.